tion of other natural species—all phenomena which are necessary for the continuance and well-being of the people themselves. In keeping with this doctrine, a natural development has been the stress on procreation—the importance of pregnancy and child-birth, and the essential sequence of sexual intercourse and conception, expressed particularly in ritual and long song cycles.

In order to understand Kunapipi cult life and belief, it is necessary to summarize very briefly some of the other cults which flourish beside it in this area.

The Djanggawul myth, consisting of several hundreds of lengthy songs, relates the adventures of two men and two women, who in the Dreaming Period landed at Port Bradshaw, on the north-east Arnhem Land coast. They had journeyed across the sea from an island called Bralku, now known as the *dua* home of the dead, somewhere beyond Groote Eylandt. These Ancestral Beings are known generally as the Djanggawul, but had their own personal names. The leader was Djanggawul himself; the two women were his sisters, the younger Wuraimiij, and the elder Bidjiwurungu; and their companion was Bralgal, who plays only a minor part in this [illegible]

As the Djanggawul journeyed along the coast, they met other Ancestral Beings like Lantjung and the Barjini, and Spirits such as Pompompo, Kultana, Woipi, Buruiu-buruiu and others; but none of these had the procreating powers of the great Djanggawul. Djanggawul had an elongated penis; and his two sisters had long clitori which dragged on the ground as they walked. Djanggawul had sexual relations with his sisters, so that they were continually pregnant. From time to time, at the camps where they stayed, he would lift their clitori to one side, and put his hand up into the uteri to remove many children of both sexes: these were the ancestors of the present aborigines. The song cycle features the perpetual pregnancy of the two sisters, their uteri being likened to the *nginimara* mats which they brought with them, while the people who are removed from them in childbirth are the *rangga*. It is said that a person's bones are like *rangga*, inherited from both the father and mother, who in turn inherited theirs through the generations of ancestors, right back to the Eternal Times of Djanggawul and the creative heroes. Therefore, at death, a person's material remains, as well as his spiritual substance, must be treated with respect, and surrounded by ritual.

An important aspect of this myth, second only to the theme of fertility, concerns the institution of sacred ritual. In the beginning,

ceremonial exchange system. Besides weapons and fishing lines, the heavier types of rope as well as most of the larger fishing nets, are made by men. In the coastal groups where bark canoes are used, the making of these craft is also the work of the men. In the case of dugout canoes, a man either makes his own canoe, a long and laborious task taking weeks or months of time and requiring a good deal of intensive hard work, or he employs a craftsman to make it for him, in which case he assumes the responsibility for the organisation of the work and for the payments involved. The large, coarsely woven fish traps, which may be five or six feet, or even more, in length, as well as other paraphernalia associated with fishing, are usually made by the men, although women may also assist.

[illegible] rainy season. Even then they generally delay the work of gathering bark and other necessary building materials until the actual onset of the rains. During a patrol at the beginning of the north-west when we were debating as to whether a heavy storm that threatened was really about to break, one of the natives said "*nārra tobiti*",[13] "my muscles have twitched", (and therefore it will not rain). And such is the belief of the natives in these portents that the people would not go out and collect the necessary paperbark to make a proper camp, despite the threatening sky.

[13] Muscular twitching, called *tobiti*, is an omen or portent which is believed to give warning of a forthcoming event, or to foretell the approach of an enemy or a visitor. The part of the body in which the twitching occurs indicates the relationship in which the visitor stands to the person who receives the warning.

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e man believes that his emotions are seated in and his names for anger, fear, jealousy, and the scriptive of the changes that take place in the generating emotion. They make no distinction er, indignation, and jealousy; they are known as una' ('ngoi' referring to underneath or the meaning the stomach boils.

ho refuses to support his relative in a quarrel is kapumiri'; that is, he has a watery stomach uld say in English 'no guts').

joy, and happiness are dependent on the stom- ubsides into a peaceful calm on hearing welcome s explained that when a man sees an enemy , his stomach boils and his anger rises, but if the he has come to make peace, the man's anger nd his stomach subsides into a flat calm 'like a storm'; he has 'the wind taken out of his sails'. d regret also rise from the stomach. Fear comes ne source, and rises and swells in the throat; nan also knows something about his 'heart in

pendent on the stomach, and the affection of a is son, or the devotion of mothers for their ls from the depths. I was reminded of the age- story of Joseph's meeting his treacherous half- r many years; he was speechless, 'For his bowels his (youngest) brother'.

n been suggested that aborigines have not the developed affection for each other as white nothing could be farther from the truth. De- uine, and intimate, and is openly expressed on asions which in a white community would call re than passing sympathy. The first initiation reaches its climax in circumcision, when wide- ion is expressed. Women, girls, and children